831 153 839 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions (*vale uu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata maluska*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau tartae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wia* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
838 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred.
159 At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 461] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and headed objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*mukeyaua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau lulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*vonanga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane ikina, peluia to malo, tai ake to ulu, yaele ake ki te one i te konga o nea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua lama*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pakipaki te lemu*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*wainganga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*wainganga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waletoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533] Swimming races (*wainganga haukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*wakayekeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 527 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *wainganga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *wainganga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *wainganga hakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*laui*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During [834] these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
834, 797, 836

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for sexual restrictions and effects of missionary teaching, see pp. 20-21.]

539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] [762] [834] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

child here!" He even dates of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He spits out the masticated vomit, stamps on it, and goes away.

Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immediately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by things participation in the funeral wake and burial. This play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record detailed but voluntoured accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being cleaned. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalising with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

793 If the priest has been wholly attentive to his duties, and has
834 been continent the night before the favor is asked, then the
226 gods turn a favorable answer and fishing is successful.

227 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 58--analyst.] A
286 kaloma net, e.g., a net used for small beach fish, is made of ukn, 10-12 fathoms long, and 6-9 feet deep. It might require 2-3 years to make. The mesh is very small. Vai pule shells were attached to the bottom of the net to serve as weights, and sections of pukama wood were attached at the top to serve as floats. Hauling ropes of kawa tau were served with uka, and attached to the ends of the net.

854 The Pukapukan infant is fed when he is hungry. He plays
855 when he has energy. He sleeps when he is tired. He does
863 any or all these things at any time of the day or night, almost any time, because he mercifully does tend to sleep for most of the night, provided he is young enough, and when he is older, what matters it if he does or not? He can look after himself by this time and so not trouble his elders. The Pukapukan child has no feeding difficulties. If he is not hungry, he does not eat. The elder child takes his food share away, and either stores it up for a hungry hour or else shares it with another. Nor has the child any excretory difficulties. He is not badly scolded if he dirties his mat; the mat is easily cleaned and so is he by being dropped into the sea. And soon, since no one pays much attention to his excreta, and excretion is considered as natural in this society as eating, he soon learns to go to the sea himself whenever he has need to.

764 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 142--analyst.] (From
Pan--doubt as to accuracy) Gravestones for children: small stones of any material about 8-9 inches high. Young boy.. not walutane: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side upright. Young girl, not w'wawine: the stone is placed in the ground with its long side on the ground. Children will be buried close together, with the head and feet stones touching those of the next grave. There is no feeling about keeping apart in death wale atua even if they should happen to belong to the same pa. Stones for children will be unshaped pungu.

285 Note that the making of baskets with handles was not ancient
377 Pukapukan custom, but has been introduced, most likely from Rarotonga. Even today these baskets have not any other use save as Bible carriers on Sunday. Their place in Pukapuka was

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night without exception right up to the time that labor pains set in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did many other men. They thought that I would make a good wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.